/246 cont./

609 166 *634 563 and a change in external policy can have their expulsion as a consequence (1).

1. Cf. above, Book II. Ch. III, pp. 245-246.

[681] [619] At other times, too, a group that fears being reduced by the exodus of families decrees penalties against those who try to pass into neighboring fractions. In this domain there is no general rule, and each "taqbilt," each "khoms" or tribe is inspired by its own interest.

474 171 681 574 /247/ II.- The mutual aid and the contributions. -- Under the name of "ouzia" one finds throughout the South of Morocco the Kabyle custom of the "timecheret," purchase in common of an animal whose flesh is to be distributed among all the inhabitants of the village; but the "ouzia" here most often preserves a religious character, and this practice does not become, as in the Djurjura, the occasion for obliging the inhabitants guilty of infractions of the laws of the city to offer a good meal to the whole village.

681 574 * 634 Here the benefit of the "imensi n tqbilt," solemn meal that the criminal or delinquent gives to repair the moral wrong that he has done to the community, is reserved solely to the Aït Arbaʿin, to the inflas of the senate of the canton. The "imensi ntqbilt," the "supper of the tribe," is, besides, a good windfall for the notables themselves, who are satisfied in everyday life with meager fare. The desire to have a good supper free of charge readily inclines the Aït Arbaʿin to give proof of great severity in the repression of offenses.

• 466 476 The corvées for plowing, harvesting, and transporting manure are the occasion of manifestations of disinterested mutual aid to which the name of "touiza" is given. The "touiza" is granted to all who ask for it. One who cannot plow his field because of his [571] poverty makes a "ʿar" to the jemaʿa in the form of a lump of [754] sugar; on the next day the workers assemble and come to the aid of the unfortunate one or the widow without support.

/247 cont./

•466 476 The "touiza" is obligatory with regard to the taleb, the moqaddem, or the amghar; except in the case where a beneficiary is without resources, food is offered to the workers by the one who uses them. Inversely, one sees at present in the same [651] [177] regions subject to the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the inhabitants of the village furnish to the kaids a number of days of "touiza" regulated by custom or fixed by the chief himself according to his needs. Each one brings his food and must often also contribute toward the maintenance of the kaid's slaves put in charge of the supervision of the work. This institution, which [178] [651] was originally a work of mutual aid, has become in this way a source of abuse, and its name is associated in the complaints of the montagnards with that of the "frida," an extraordinary contribution that a representative of the Sultan, kaid or caliphate, levies as often as he can in Berbère /Berber/ country.

* 634 652 [651] [681] In the independent fractions, it is exceptional that the /248/ "taqbilt" treasury is reconstituted by means of extraordinary taxes or "frida" paid by each household. One-third of the fines paid by the guilty, reserved for this purpose, most often suffices, and the Berbères /Berbers/ feel profound repugnance toward paying contributions, with which the "Bled el Makhzen" is overburdened. 735 794 431 On the other hand, they acquit themselves willingly, either through the medium of the common treasury or directly, of numerous traditional tithes paid to the marabouts and the poor. In the Anti-Atlas, where all transactions and the measuring of har- [465] vests are done at the "agadir," the part for the saints of the country and their descendants, the "igourramen," as well as the salary of the minor functionary charged with watching over the harvests or the collective storehouse, are taken on the spot by the official measurer. The Koranic regulation of taxes is in this way observed in spirit, if not in form, but for the exclusive benefit of the local saints and of the zaouias, which are, as has often been said, an integral part of Berbère /Berber/ society.

[171] Likewise among the tribes of the Jbala of the Habt one sees the shorfa /shurfa/ and the poor benefit from the sum total of the legal alms. The montagnards of the north of Morocco "acquit

/342 cont./

175 the cleverest master masons. A large prison, corner towers and
*631 loopholes for defense in all directions, walls so thick that the
712 cannon of a Sultan himself would have difficulty in destroying
[333] them, enormous reserves of grain and fodder, that is what is necessary in order to be able to resist victoriously in the future the uprising of the tribes and especially the powerful harkas of the enemy chiefs of the vicinity.

Other less imposing fortresses will serve, in the subject tribes, as dwellings for the caliphates of the kaid, charged with collecting the taxes and commanding in his name. All these constructions, moreover, will be executed in corvée by the tribes, under
• [466] the /343/ direction of master masons coming mostly from the
[333] Ait Bou Yaya of the Sahara. Their thick walls of beaten earth -- to which is given the name of "louh" -- poorly resist inclement weather, and they crack and crumble in one generation of men. It is enough to see them to understand that a chief hardly builds for his sons. Who knows what the future holds in so troubled a country? Moreover is it not the essential thing to build fortresses with the briefest delay, taking advantage of the short periods of peace?

By their use and their exterior aspect, the casbahs erected during the period when the power of the great chiefs remained threatened by revolts and wars differ greatly from the proud constructions whose number has been multiplying for ten years. Indeed, when the great chiefs of the mountains, confirmed in their power after rallying to the Protectorate, understood that they could henceforth live in security, they had residences built on all sides, sometimes ostentatious, adorned with high, whitewashed towers, crowned with merlons, provided with garages for their automobiles. The warlike aspect that these fortresses sometimes still have is no more than decoration. It seems that these buildings are above all intended to strike the minds of the subject populations by manifesting the wealth and the strength of the master. Several of them marvelously express, in the midst of the ruined houses of the subjects, the brutal character and the

*634 /344 cont./
*631 lord are entrusted to the "bab inebgioun," director of hospitality,
712 charged with ensuring their sustenance and that of their mounts.
[574] A doorkeeper, the "abouwab" (1),

1. From the Arabic bouwab, doorkeeper.

keeps the key to the women's house and has the "mouna," the daily food, taken to them. Finally several "moqaddem" are put in charge of the field crops and the immense orchards, acquired recently and by every means, in the best parts of the valley.
• [466] They are the ones who assemble the corvées furnished by the tribes for the plowing and harvesting, and who see to the threshing and to the ensilage of the grain.

At Tagontaft or at Talat n Yaqoub, we find all these various
*631 jobs still held in our day by the sons of the companions of the
*634 amghar Mohammed. At present one scarcely sees appear among
571 the kaid's confidential men a few young persons from the leff of
[178] the "Aît Atman." Their fathers met death in the struggles at the beginning; their possessions have been "eaten" and their villages destroyed, but they end up by rallying to a regime that resists time. It is they who, in the newly conquered tribes, will make the kaid's orders respected, and their loyalty is guaranteed in all circumstances by the presence of their households humbly established close to the master's house.

*631 /345/ Thus, to the small army of mercenaries at the begin-
*634 ning comes to be added, little by little, a troop of volunteers
701 chosen from the tribe of origin. A few slaves serve as the balance
[567] in order to constitute a reliable group, entrusted on distant expeditions to a caliphate, relative or ally of the master. The tribes already subdued each bring their contingents commanded by kaids and sheiks, and without any pay they remain at the disposal of the caliphate for the duration of the war. These auxiliaries have, then, no resources to live on other than the ones that pillage gives.

*631 IX. The financial resources. The kaid, master of the lands.
652 -- But the extension of the power thus organized brings to the
701
648
*634

*634 /345 cont./
*631 makhzen /makhzan/ leader only new burdens. In order to equip
652 his mokhaznis, supply them with arms, buy the complicity of
[648 the minor chiefs of the vicinity, and struggle at the court of the
701] Makhzen against the dangerous influences of the nearby great chiefs by distributing considerable sums to the great ones, new resources are always needed. It is then necessary to impose on
[651 the tribes extraordinary contributions, "frida," to buy the lands
728] from the ruined inhabitants or, better, to confiscate them, when villages have been destroyed and the families exiled. Hundreds
[567] of slaves are bought to cultivate these abandoned fields. The retinue of the house does not cease to grow. In proportion as the importance of the domains and of the command increases, the intermediaries also become more and more numerous, the harvests and the taxes melt away in their hands, and the chief receives no more than a small part of them.

[619 With an ever-increasing ambition, the kaid then tries to get,
661] by force or by intrigue, to establish himself in the richest tribes in the vicinity, while the ruin of the ones that he already commands is consummated.

•[466 Corvées, taxes, and fines are multiplied indeed, and, in
651 order to find the money required by the mokhaznis, the peasants
681] come to the casbah to sell their unripe harvests, their almonds in bloom, and to pawn their fields. Against the urgent necessity of
[571 finding resources, no consideration can hold if it is not that of
557] keeping intact the very organization of the command by treating with respect the few families whose fate is bound up with that of the kaid. So the great concern of the chief is to acquire goods by every means. If this regime could continue /346/ to endure, the kaid, with his brothers, would come to possess all the lands of the country.

*634 Doubtless in the beginning preferential treatment is still re-
*631 served in the Asif Nefis for the "Aît Iraten," among whom the
616 Gontafi found so many allies; but later, when the memory of the
652 institution of the leffs is almost lost, after 40 years of internal
178 peace, the friendly cantons of the past will end up by being sub-
559 ject to the common regime of the "frida" and corvées. Only the

/381 cont./

175 where they scatter "like boats on the sea," they get rich and for-
159 get their internal dissensions.

*63 Having become powerful, ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi feels cramped
648 in his casbah of the Azaghar. He has another one constructed,
619 larger than the first one, a few kilometers away on the brow of
[712] the mountain of Amhach. This fortress, in ruins today, contained a large house defended by borjs; cisterns and vaulted storehouses built with care, to which the marabouts themselves came to pay the tithe, which indicates to us quite well their state of
[466] abasement. Between the two casbahs stretched a large space planted with olive trees, and all the tribes participated by corvées in the construction of an immense enceinte wall of dry stones, intended to shelter the kaid's crops. Then around the house of the Azaghar grow the dwellings of the relatives of ᶜAbadallah Ou Bihi. Finally, hundreds of black slaves cultivate the fields. By the material aspects of his establishment, the Makhzen leader seems to live and act like a mountain kaid.

But if one examines carefully the organization of the great chief's power, one sees how much it differs from that of the other Berbère /Berber/ chiefs whose appearance and development we have studied. ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi is not established on the lands of his enemies, but on those of the Makhzen. His only rival is the kaid of the Mtougga, but, in order to fight him and put him to flight, he must wait patiently for the "siba" that follows the Sultan's death. He does not confiscate the possessions of the defeated, but in each tribe he has the dead fields, taken over by
[651] forest, cleared by fire. Everyone owes him two days of tillage
[466] and three days of harvesting, which are enough for him to have his silos filled, set up under the guard of an "amin."

175 The great kaid, ceaselessly at the head of his horsemen,
159 travels through the tribes. This group that he calls his "makhzen,"
*63 however, is not made up of the warriors of a privileged canton, it
619 is formed of Haha of various origins. The ones that he prizes
701 most are those of the Ida Ou Gourd, for the most part of Arab origin, because they are hard in combat; he can, in any circumstance, use 100 horsemen and 300 foot soldiers, who are all

/412 cont./

*631 this progress still remains precarious, since passions, restrained
648 during the years in which the authority of the Sultan's representa-
17 tives is exercised without being contested, break out anew at the
[578] first "siba," with a still greater violence. The peace in which
[669] the new subjects then live is bought by the destruction of most of the traditions and customs, habitudes of local government and of primitive justice, which for the inhabitants of the mountains are inseparable from their very life.

[792] The marabouts, whose arbitration was exercised not only to stop the battles of cantons and tribes but also to settle in compliance with equity differences of a private nature, disappeared first; no longer do we see them intervene with sheiks and kaids to defend the poor and weak as they were privileged to do with the senates of "inflas" in the time of freedom. The old tribal law
[671] ceases to be /413/ applied and often the day of submission marks
[693] that of its effacement. It makes way for the more distant and abstract justice of the cadis, whose complaisance toward the new leaders is obvious.

*[634] At the same time, most of the economic institutions of the
[343] small Berbère /Berber/ cantons, whose regular functioning re-
[712] quired the deliberation of family representatives, are smitten with
[652] decline; the agadirs fall in ruins, the common treasuries are squandered, the corvées for mutual aid become irregular, main-
[466] tenance of the séguias and roads, even the protection of the crops
[653] are no longer the object of the same care as in former times.

Finally, ownership of the land, so profoundly disturbed in cer-
[423] tain regions near the casbahs of the great chiefs, becomes uncer-
[166] tain; the constitution of the large domains of the kaids of the Atlas entails, in a country already too poor to feed its inhabitants, the disappearance of a large number of villages and the progressive exodus of the Berbères /Berbers/ toward regions where the security of possessions and persons is more certain.

[735] When the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established without intermediaries and allows all its weight to bear down on the tribes, thanks to the unlimited authority of foreign leaders, one sees profound poverty develop; one of the most constant principles